regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. However this use of agriculture was primarily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1]

For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) 16: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

288 177 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware 323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and 411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only 224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet 227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, 411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were 501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their 556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbar- 119 181 ism" [10] and even of this wealth they possessed little. The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

---

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

[286]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

CLOTHING.

The Ainos weave a very durable, coarse kind of cloth from the fibrous bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, known as the *ohiyo*. Mr. Blackiston has pointed out that the species *Ulmus campestris* (Japanese *akadamo*) is also used. 286

The principal garment is a coat made of this material. It is patterned after one form of the Japanese coat. The shape is well shown in Plate XCVI, which represents the back of an embroidered coat made of the *ohiyo*, with strips of blue Japanese cotton cloth sewed on, and a running design of white braid, also produced in Japan. Such elaborate decoration is only applied to the best garments, those for common wear being quite plain. Japanese cotton goods are replacing the *ohiyo*. Already the native cloth is far less common than it has been, and while I was in Yezo I found it by no means abundant. The native looms will soon be out of use, for cotton goods, although less durable than the *ohiyo*, are warmer and softer. A narrow belt is worn around the waist. The women usually wear an under-garment of cotton, and occasionally an apron. 291 [177] [531] [439]

Leggins are worn by both sexes. These are very simply made, but are also often decorated with braid.

Sandals are worn in the summer (Pl. XCVII). These are said to be made of *kurumi no kawa*, walnut bark. The winter clothing is made of the skins of animals. For traveling in the snow there are shoes made of fish skin, and wide snow-shoes consisting of wooden frames with thongs of bear-skin, both of which are represented in this plate. [237] [481]

DWELLINGS.

The typical Aino house is a square or rectangular main structure, usually entered through a low gable-roofed passage-way. The frame-work is made of rough beams put together in the manner shown in Fig. 71, which is a drawing made from a photograph taken at Tokoro. The houses are thatched with reeds, usually the *Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill, held down by poles. Such a house is shown in Plate XCVIII, at Shari. There is a small opening just below the apex of the roof in front, through which the smoke escapes, and in cold weather this is the only outlet for the smoke. A sliding board-shutter in the middle affords ventilation through the roof, but this is closed in the winter. Houses of this kind are common in the north, where the winters are very cold. Farther south there is no opening through the roof, and the smoke passes out through a large triangular opening in front beneath the ridge-pole. To prevent wind and rain from beating in, a rectangular sort of chimney is built in front of the aperture. A similar house, also at Shari, is shown in Plate XCIX. A similar house at Bekkai or Bitskai, near Nemuro, is shown in Plates C and CI, which are two views of the same house. This house is thatched with straw. In Plate CII, back of 342

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

WEAVING.

As already stated, the Ainos use the bark of the *Ulmus montana*, 286
which they call *ohiyo*, sometimes also the bark of *U. campestris*, for the manufacture of cloth. The fiber is not disintegrated, as for spinning, but the bark is softened by soaking in water and working, when it is easily separated into thin, wide ribbons, and these are readily split into long, slender threads. These threads are tied together end to end, without twisting, and wound into balls. Such threads are used for both warp and woof.

The loom is simple, but well made. Fig. 82 represents an Aino

Fig. 82.

AINO WOMAN WEAVING.

woman engaged in making the *ohiyo* cloth. The weaver sits on the floor, passing the rope at the lower end around the body, and stretches the warp by leaning back against it. As the cloth is woven, it is rolled on the stick in the well-known manner.

Mats are woven in the same manner as in Japan. Plate CIV repre- 285
sents an Aino woman making a mat. The long binding-threads are weighted with stones at the end and thrown over the beam, alternately backward and forward, twisting the threads each time. Such mats, varying greatly in size, are in universal use among the Ainos. They are made of the rush known by the Japanese as *suge*, *Scirpus maritimus*. They are usually woven with brown and black squares, arranged in peculiar but regular patterns. The colored parts are made with dyed 285
bark, probably because the rush does not take color well. The bark of 386
Shina no-ki (*Tilia cordata*) is usually employed for the colored portions, but I have also specimens of the *ohiyo* bark from Abashiri, which have

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126

[286] *Ohiyo cloth.*—Woven of the bark of the ohiyo or mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, with stripes of blue and bright colored cotton. A very strong durable cloth which has been in universal use by the Ainos, but which is now being replaced by the more comfortable Japanese cotton fabrics. Width, 13 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150665

Loom.—With warp of elm bark and a small piece of cloth woven, showing the reed, shuttle, beater, etc. Weaving is usually done by the women, who sit on the floor and stretch the warp from the beams of the house. (See Fig. 82.) A similar loom arranged for use is shown in the section of textiles. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150666

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Belt woven of elm bark on a small loom made for the purpose. Used as a belt outside the coat. Length, 8 feet; width, 1 inch. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150667

[415] *Bark water bucket and dipper.*—Made of birch bark. Used for holding water. (See Fig. 73.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150668

Bark basket.—Made of ohiyo bark with handle of the same bark twisted. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150669

Wooden ladle.—"Kasup." A large ladle used for dipping food from the kettle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150670

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Made of the ohiyo or elm bark, with stripes of colored cotton. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150671

Conical bark bag.—Made of the bark of the linden tree. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150672

[415] *Bark dish for fish.*—Very rudely made by binding the bark into the form of a deep dish and tying the ends with bark rope between short sticks to preserve the shape. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150673

Bark dipper.—Made of birch bark, with a wooden handle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150674

[411] *Spear.*—A two-pronged spear used for spearing seals or large fish, salmon, etc. The two points of sheet iron, sharpened, are set in barb-shaped pieces of hard wood, which fit loosely over the ends of the prongs of the shaft, and are held in place by the tension of the bark rope, to which they are securely attached. When the weapon strikes the barbs enter the flesh and become detached from the shaft, but they are securely held by the line until the animal is killed or exhausted. The points are sometimes poisoned. (See Fig. 85.) Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. Length of shaft 15 feet. 150675

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus*, with a cord to swing over the shoulder. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150676

Ohiyo bark.—The bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, used principally for making cloth for clothing. The specimens show how the bark readily splits into numerous thin, broad bands or layers, from which long, narrow threads for weaving are drawn, tied end to end, and wound into balls like 150650. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150677

Dried salmon.—Fish cut into long strips and dried over the smoky fire in the house. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150678

[482] *Carrying band.*—A braided band of ohiyo, used for carrying children and loads on the back. The broad middle part is placed on the forehead, and the ends tied under the burden on the back. Three specimens. (See also 150757.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150679, 150680, 150683

This system of carrying children and loads is universal. The women carry large wooden tubs of water on their backs in this manner. (See Plate cv.)

[276] *Tobacco pipe.*—A pipe 3 feet in length, the usual form, but of very unusual size. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150681

Hoe.—Fashioned from a branch of a tree, the blade being formed by sharpening the stub of the main branch. An extremely rude instrument. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150682

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Quiver and arrows.—Quiver made of wood bound with bark, having carved projected pieces along the sides. The form is common to all the Ainos. Arrows with bone or bamboo heads (see Fig. 94). Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150785, 150786

Loom.—Four pieces, constituting the essential parts of a native loom for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150787

Harpoon.—A barbed iron head, with lateral barbs on the shank, loosely fitted on the end of a wooden shaft and secured by thongs to a line. When a fish is struck the head leaves the shaft and the fish is pulled in with the line. Used for shallow-river fishing. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150788

Fish spear.—A spear identical with 150662, but smaller. Tsuishikari Ainos, 1888. 150789

Cake of dried lily root.—Similar to Nos. 150741, 150742, and 150744, but of slightly different form. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150790

Wooden plate.—Square and rectangular, carved on the inside. Ainos of Yezo, 1875 Collected by Gen. H. Capron. 19416

Wooden plate.—Ainos of Yezo, 1876. Collected by Benj. Smith Lyman. 22256

LIST OF YEZO, AINO AND SHIKOTAN PHOTOGRAPHS OBTAINED BY ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

Banks of houses, Shikotan.—Showing the mounds of earth over the pits, connected with the main or thatched houses. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 56

Villagers, Shikotan.—The Kurile Islanders now occupying the dwellings on Shikotan. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 57

View of Nemuro, Yezo.—Looking over the the town toward the harbor, showing Bentenjima, on which are numerous pits and a shell-heap. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 58

Pottery.—Specimens of so-called "Aino" pottery, from the collection of M. l'Abbé Furet, Hakodate. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 59

View of Hakodate.—From back of the town, overlooking the harbor. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 61

House on Shikotan.—The front or thatched house and back passage of the Kurile Islanders. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 65

Earth houses on Shikotan.—Two detached earth or pit dwellings. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 66

Aino house, Bekkai, Yezo.—From the southeast. Showing a small, conical tent covered with mats on the south side of the house, in which an aged woman and a dog were found sleeping. (See page 451.) Negative by R. Hitchcock. August, 1888. 740

Aino house and storehouse, Bekkai, Yezo.—Another view of the house shown in No. 740, from the northeast, showing a storehouse in the foreground and a second house on the left. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 741

Group of five Ainos, Shari, Yezo.—Four women and one man standing at the entrance to a house, a Japanese on the right. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 742

Aino man and woman, Shari, Yezo.—Standing before the side door of a house. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 743

Aino house and storehouse, Shari, Yezo.—A large and well-built dwelling thatched with reeds (arundinaria). Fish nets drying on a frame raised on poles. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 744

Aino house, Shari, Yezo.—The house has a small aperture just beneath the ridge for the escape of smoke, and a hole in the roof, closed with a sliding shutter; also a lateral projection forming a side room for storage. There is a sliding front door, outside of which a mat may be dropped down in cold weather. Negative by R. Hitchcock, August, 1888. 745

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

placed on his head, whilst his better-half helped him on with his regal *imi* (garments), as well as a large sword, which also made part of his regal insignia. The crown had in front a small bear's head roughly carved in wood, and the clothes were very gaudy. They were made of strips of blue, white, and red cloth sewn together. The materials used were Japanese, but they were cut and arranged in a thoroughly Ainu pattern. Though he began well, Benry was not a good sitter, and, like most animals, he did not like to be stared at. He felt the weight of a look, as it were, and it made him uncomfortable. Not many minutes had elapsed before he became openly impatient; he even showed his temper by flinging away his crown and his wooden sword. On the other hand, sketching in Benry's house was no easy matter for me. With all the respect due to the chief of Piratori, I am bound to say that his house was not a model of cleanliness. Those of his hairy brothers and subjects were no better than his, and many were a great deal worse. Fleas and other insects were so numerous that in a few minutes I was literally covered with them, each one of them having a peaceful and hearty meal at my expense, while I, for the sake of art, had to go on with my sketch and leave them undisturbed. Notwithstanding all this Benry was immortalised twice that day, and his maid, housekeeper, or wife —three words which have the same meaning to the Ainu— was also handed down to posterity while in the act of spinning the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark, destined to form a new garment for her lord, master, and husband.

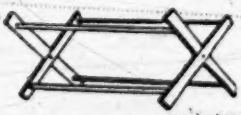
When I went out to sketch the houses and storehouses in the village Benry and another man followed me everywhere; but neither he nor his fellow-shadow seemed to take any interest in the sketching. In Japan, Corea, and China I have often been surrounded by hundreds of people attentively watching every stroke of the brush, and I have always found them clever and quick in making out the meaning of each line or brush-mark. I can assert, without fear of being contradicted, that the majority of Japanese, Coreans, and Chinese are even quicker than Europeans in that respect, owing to the fact that lines constitute for them the study of a lifetime. Chinese characters, which are nothing but a deep study of lines, are adopted by the three above-mentioned nations, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

wine and as an implement in weaving); a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kammakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving



THE KAMMAKAPPE.

PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."

THE USA.

STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

286 The cloth is wound round a stick which rests on the lap of the weaver, and is kept in tension by means of her wrists; and at the same time the *Ahunkanitte* (the "shuttle"), is passed between the two sets of warp threads carrying the transverse thread, or "woof," from one side of the cloth to the other and back again. This is then beaten up by means of a long shuttle like a netting mesh, which first draws the weft into its place, and is then used to beat it up. In some ways this form of loom is similar to that of India. The "netting mesh" is

THE AHUNKANITTE.

THE PEKOATNIT.

called *Atzis-Hera*. Finally, the *Pekoatnit* is a bi-forked instrument for separating the threads.

It is needless to say that with this primitive and home-made loom it takes a very long time to weave a very short piece of cloth; but as time is not money with Ainu women, and patience is one of their virtues, it answers their purpose, and they wish for nothing better.

ATZIS-CLOTH IN PROCESS OF WEAVING.

283 824 The thread used for manufacturing the cloth is made of the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark. At the beginning of the spring the elm bark is peeled off the trees and is put in water to soak and soften until the inner fibres can be separated, made into threads, and wound up round reeds. The material woven from these threads is very coarse and brittle, except in wet weather or when soaked in water, in which case clothes made of it cannot be worn out.

286 531 The weaving is usually plain, but sometimes a simple pattern of black parallel lines is woven in with the material. The natural colour of the elm-fibre thread is dark yellow, and the black lines are composed of the same thread stained.

000 The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

make, especially at myself while I was sketching them; but one or two of their "favourites" may prove worth describing.

One Ainu at Shari, on the north-east coast, excelled in moving his scalp, and by raising his eyebrows at the same time creased the skin of his forehead to such an extent as to make his eyebrows almost meet his hair. The nostrils were expanded and the upper lip was raised so as to show the teeth firmly closed. The same man was also good at moving his ears. Others preferred to put out their tongue, emitting at the same time a harsh sound from the throat.

Although many Ainu could not voluntarily move their scalp they often did so unaware. When eating, especially if a piece of food required some effort to swallow, the neck was outstretched, the mouth closed tight, the eyebrows raised high, and the scalp brought far forward over the forehead. In masticating, the ears would sometimes move involuntarily, as with dogs or monkeys.

The Ainu are also good at rapid "winking," first with one eye, then the other, each eye playing at an inexpressibly funny kind of bo-peep. *En revanche*, they make no great use of their hands, and it is not uncommon for them to use their feet to assist their hands. Indeed, their toes are supplementary fingers, and they often hold things between the big toe and the next, as when making nets or *Inaos* (wooden wands with overhanging shavings). When making nets, the string is firmly held by the big toe bent over; when shaping *Inaos* the lower point of the wand is passed between the two toes, which keep it fast while the long shavings are cut.

When women wind the thread made of the *Ulmus campestris* fibre, they often let it run between the two larger toes while they wind it on a spool or a reed. Then, again, the toes are often used to pick up small objects out of the reach of the hands, and also to scratch the lower extremities. The two middle fingers of the hand and the three smaller toes of the foot are seldom used by the Ainu, and are somewhat inert. The little finger is slightly more active. Whenever Ainu point at anything they habitually do so with the open hand, for they have a certain difficulty in using any finger separately. This difficulty is not so great with the first finger; but where a European would use only his thumb and first finger, an

THE ATZIS.

ATZIS, AFTER JAPANESE PATTERN.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Ainu Clothes, Ornaments, and Tattooing.

THE Ainu men generally go naked in summer time, but in some parts of Yezo civilisation has forced them to adopt cheap Japanese clothes. It must not be supposed from this that the real Ainu never wear any clothes at all, for indeed on grand occasions they dress gaudily enough, but always in a rude, elementary kind of way. For winter use they sew together the skins of either bear or deer, fox or wolf, making a kind of sleeveless jacket, which protects the chest, the shoulders, and the back. Another kind of fur garment of deer-skin is longer and has sleeves, is large at the shoulders, and very narrow at the wrist, as a still further protection against the cold. This deer-skin coat is mostly worn by women as an under-garment. Besides these fur garments for winter weather, they wear the *atzis*, a long reddish-yellow wrapper, made of the woven fibre of the *Ulmus campestris*. It has sleeves similar to the deer-skin coat, only these sleeves are a great deal wider.

WINTER BEAR-SKIN COAT.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABC Ainu ABC

778 More attention is due to the considerations of W. G. ASTON,[1] 1974 who derives the inau from the Japanese Shinto cult, and connects them with the so-called *gohei,* sacrificial sticks hung around with strips of colored paper. In earliest times, argues this investigator, fabrics, yarn, and fibres of textile plants, were very frequently to be found among the common offerings of the Shinto cult. Later on, these real offerings, bearing the name "nusa," assumed a purely fictitious form, having been supplanted by sticks with strips of fabrics or fibres of plants attached to them; and later still, when cotton came into general use, they were entirely superseded by strips of paper. These very sticks, hung around with strips of paper, and called "gohei," are, in the opinion of Aston, the prototypes of the Ainu inau. In their subsequent evolution, these gohei, and with them the inau, have become, from mere objects of offering, independent objects of worship, having been transformed into miracle-working magic beings, and even receptacles of spirit-deities.

778 However tempting the acceptance of this hypothesis may 114 seem, — the more so because the gohei indeed somewhat re- 194 semble the inau in shape; and, furthermore, the most ancient forms of gohei bear the name "nusa,"[2] identical with the Ainu [192] name for a group of inau,[3] — yet the reasons adduced by the author in support of his hypothesis are not conclusive. Indeed, if the inau are but the Japanese nusa and gohei, then the Ainu, like the Japanese, would have passed from fabrics and fibres to *paper;* or, if paper strips were for some reason or other beyond their means, they would have retained the old form of nusa, — that is, fabrics and spinning-yarns, — which would be the more [286] natural, as the Ainu are familiar with the weaver's art; and textile material, in the form of nettle and elm-bast, was always ready at hand.

[1] The Japanese Gohei and the Ainu Inao (Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1901, Vol. XXXI).

[2] In reality, the Ainu have their own synonymes for "nusa," *inau-chipa;* and the Japanese, on the other hand, call the Ainu nusa by the name *inau no rui.* Compare this word in BATCHELOR's Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary.

[3] See p. 429.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 291 [688] by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; [177] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly [531] cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shianbappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica taheda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *ot-ami-ni* (cf. Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

/763 cont./

843 562 Even during pregnancy the woman enjoys a certain amount of attention and care. I was able to observe that they showed indulgence towards a pregnant woman, that they helped her at work and quietly permitted her idleness and longer sleep.

843 Among the advice to pregnant women especially noteworthy is the rule that recommends that they move around a lot. In this way the fetus is supposed to remain small and the parturition to proceed quickly and without special pains. The closer the moment of delivery, the more exercise the woman is to take. If she sits around much during her pregnancy the fetus becomes too large and the mother suffers several days before the birth is over.

732 843 807 825 A pregnant woman may not eat lobster since the child will then have a hare-lip. She may not eat the flesh of birds either because the child might then be born with squinting eyes which move like those of a bird. In this manner they explained to me a case of hare-lip of a woman in the village Nayero and of two crosseyed brothers in the village of Takoe.

843 784 883 886 Two months before birth a pregnant woman may neither spin nor wind string (from nettle fibres) because the entrails of the child might then get entangled like string. The same can also happen if the woman should want to twist wool.

844 Birth—During the birth a woman does not leave the house but remains in her usual place at the fire. All children, young people, and sometimes also grown-up men, on the other hand, are chased out of the yurt. For they hold the belief that a great number of spectators increases the pains of the woman, and they also consider quiet as very desirable. In order not to dirty the floor they cover the spot where the sick woman is to lie with twigs of fir and pine. They also give her a support of old clothes and a mat woven out of grass. The woman lies down on her right or left /764/ side with a belt clasped lightly around her, which is made of some kind of material, but not of nettle fibres since these are too hard. When the weather is cold the woman keeps her boots on but in the contrary case this is not necessary.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

(53) It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, however, the practice of sea-fishing.

Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

Yanke tomari and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the